Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.

By LESTER W. J. SEIFERT, *Brown University*

During the past summer Mr. Carroll E. Reed, also of Brown University, and I spent our time in the Pennsylvania German area. Mr. Reed lived in western Berks Co. and I in western Lehigh Co. We went around asking people how they said such and such things in Pennsylvania German and wrote down their answers in a special phonetic alphabet. Our questions were chiefly concerned with finding out the terms for the common, everyday things of life; things dealing with the house and home, the farm, crops, tools, food, sicknesses, social affairs, the weather, and others of a similar simple nature. We asked the same questions of all the people so that we could find out in what all the people agreed and also in what things they differed from one another. The people of whose answers we kept record in our note-books were from many different occupations and professions and they varied in age from 18 to 85 years. Reed made 22 such records in western Berks Co. and I made 20 in western Lehigh Co. so that the usage of a fairly large number of speakers within two comparatively small areas has been recorded.

The purpose of our work was to find out how much the dialect differed from region to region and also how much it differed within a comparatively small area. Within the last 70 years the Pennsylvania German dialect has been investigated by various scholars and almost every phase of the dialect, except that of dialect differences, has at least been touched upon. There has been a good deal of arguing, mostly theoretical, about the extent of variation in the dialect, but no one has up to the present tried to compile a list of words, grammatical forms, and pronunciations which show variation; since this is the case, no one, of course, has tried to show in what particular region one word is used, and where another word meaning the same thing is current.

The first scientific treatment of the dialect is Samuel S. Haldeman's **Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English,** published in London and Philadelphia, 1872. On page 4 we read: "The early settlers were extensive purchasers and occupiers of land, and being thus widely scattered, and having but few good roads, the uniformity of the language is greater than might have been supposed possible." He makes no further mention of dialect differences.

Marcus B. Lambert writes on p. VIII of the Introduction to his **Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect,** published in Lancaster, Pa., 1924: "The Swiss admixture is only slightly noticeable in the eastern part of the (Pennsylvania German) section, but is very evident in the Lancaster-York district —. The constant intermingling of those speaking different dialects has had a smoothing-out and levelling effect, so that the Pennsylvania-German dialect is quite homogeneous." On p. XII of the Introduction, after giving a review of the spellings so far used in writing the dialect, he says, "I have gone into this detail to show the anarchy that has reigned in this field, although the pronunciation is fairly uniform throughout." In the dictionary itself no further mention is made of dialect differences and at times he gives only one word, when different regions have different words.

In Albert Buffington's excellent study entitled **Pennsylvania German. A Grammatical and Linguistic Study of the Dialect,** Harvard University Dissertation, 1937 (in typescript), we read of the development of "the composite Pennsylvania German dialect (with certain local and individual variations) —." He continues with the words, "yet, on the whole, the dialectical variations—in the various sections of Pennsylvania are very slight" (p. 11). Mr. Buffington does not go into this matter very deeply, but his scattered remarks upon the subject are trustworthy.

M. D. Learned's **The Pennsylvania German Dialect,** published in Baltimore, 1889, presents a somewhat different view. After writing of the many different dialects spoken by the early Pennsylvania settlers, he continues on p. 19: "Nor must it be supposed that, inasmuch as the Pennsylvania German is spoken of as a unit, such a complete levelling has taken place as to render it impossible to trace the original dialectical characteristics," and on p. 22: "A more detailed treatment of **dialectical differences** in various portions of the State is reserved for a subsequent chapter." That "subsequent chapter" never appeared, although he referred to this matter again in **The American Ethnographical Survey. Conestoga Expedition 1902,** published in New York, 1911. Following the example of George Wenker, the German scholar who began to study the geographic extent of words and forms in the dialects of Germany, he wants to construct a **"Dialect Map"** (p. 5 of the Preliminary Report); later on he hoped to compile a dialect dictionary (p. 1), but neither of these plans was carried out.

On Feb 3 and 10, 1940 there appeared an article in this column by J. William Frey under the title **The Pennsylvania German Dialect in York County.** Since he limits himself to the discussion of the dialect spoken in a certain region, it is evident that he recognizes the presence of differences between York Co and other regions. In the article however, Mr. Frey gives a general treatment of some of the grammatical features of the York County dialect, but he does not say in which of these forms the dialect of York Co. differs from the dialect of other regions.

If we sum up these views, the following is clear: most of the observers recognize the existence of dialect differences, although they may speak of a "homogeneous dialect;" some say that the differences are very slight, others say that they are considerable. Such statements are usually found in the introductions, but in the main body of the studies the dialect is treated as if it were entirely homogeneous. It has been pointed out that there are exceptions to this rule, but even these men have not gone very far in pointing out specific variations.

The reason for this general vagueness is quite evident. There was no body of material, collected on the basis of the spoken word, from which anything beyond generalities could be deduced. Now it is precisely the problem of dialect differences with which Reed and I were especially concerned, when we compiled the 42 records mentioned in the very beginning of this article.

We have now worked through these records and have found that there are many differences in the dialect, differences between and within the two regions investigated during the past summer. One speaker uses one word and another uses another word in referring to the same object; one speaker pronounces a word in one way and another pronounces the same word differently; one speaker uses a certain grammatical form in a sentence and another uses a different form in the same sentence. To be sure, the Pennsylvania German spoken in one of the regions investigated is still easily understood by anyone living in the other area, and inasmuch as this is the case, it is possible to speak of a single Pennsylvania German dialect spoken in western Berks and western Lehigh Counties, but it is wrong to regard it as an entirely "homogeneous dialect."

The most striking type of difference is that in which one well defined region uses one word or form and another equally well defined region uses another; in this case we are dealing with what is usually called the **geographic distribution of terms.** But there are also other kinds of distribution; we all know that older people use words which the younger generations no longer use, even though the latter still know the meanings of such words; there is also a social distribution of words, for a term which may be perfectly all right on one social level is not current on another level. These last two types are interesting fields for investigation, but in this article only geographic distribution will be dealt with. In some cases the lines of geographic, age, and social distribution cross; when such "crossed" forms are cited in the following paragraphs, mention will be made of the fact.

There are nine main types of geographic distribution between and within western Berks and western Lehigh Counties. The examples which have been chosen to illustrate these different types are all taken from the vocabulary and even in this respect do not represent our complete material. The differences in pronunciation and grammatical forms also fall into these types, but these differences may be dealt with in a later article, if there is sufficient interest on the part of the readers. The spellings which I shall use, following Dr. Barba's system, represent the most common pronunciation recorded in western Berks and western Lehigh counties, but this does not mean that it is the only pronunciation recorded for any one word. Since this article deals only with matters of the vocabulary, the differences in pronunciation must remain unmentioned except in a few special cases. From now on I shall use only **Berks** and **Lehigh** in referring to the two regions investigated, but in every case this means **western** Berks Co. and **western** Lehigh Co.

I. There is first of all the type of distribution in which the people of Berks use one word and the people of Lehigh use another in speaking of the same thing. Sixteen examples have been chosen to show this. The word used in one region may occur here and there in the other region, but such chance occurrences will be disregarded; this holds for all the following sections.

ENGLISH	BERKS	LEHIGH
1. **The dog barks**	**der Hund gauzt**	**der Hund blafft**
2. **The lantern**	**die Ladarn**	**die Ludzer**
3. **A dress**	**en Gaunt**	**en Frack**
4. **Several villages**	**paar Schdedtlicher**	**deel Schdedtelcher**
5. **The spring-harrow**	**die Schbring-eeg**	**die Schbrings-eeg**
6. **The spike-harrow**	**die Schbeick-eeg**	**die Schbeicks-eeg**
7. **The flower-bed**	**der Blumme-gohrde**	**es Blumme-land**
8. **The road goes uphill**	**die Schdross geht hiwwelnuff**	**die Schdross geht der Barrick nuff**
9. **The road goes downhill**	**die Schdross geht hiwwelnunner**	**die Schdross geht der Barrick nunner**
10. **Wheatbread**	**Weedze-brod**	**Weiss-brod or Weedze-brod**
11. **The hawk**	**der Habbich**	**der Woi**

A few old people in Berks still use **der Woi**; some use the English word.

12. **Lehigh County**	**Lechaa, Lehigh, or Lehaa County**	**Lechaa County only**
13. **The country road**	**der Lans-weg**	**die Grund-schdross or Land-Schdross**

In addition to these 3 words there are a good many others found in both regions, **e. g., Dreckweg, Dreck-schdross, Newe-schdross, die Lane,** etc.

14. **Breakfast**	**Marye-esse**	**Breckfeschd**

In a rather narrow strip of western Lehigh, bordering on Berks Co., both words are used, and often by the same person.

15. **They razzed him:** in Berks they say **sie hen ihn geredzt, sie hen Gschbass gemacht mid ihm, sie hen ihn geeggt,** and other terms; in Lehigh, **sie hen ihn gezarrt,** is by far the most common term, but the older people sometimes say **sie hen ihn geneckst.**

16. **He works at Schmidt's:** in Lehigh most people say **er schafft ans Schmidt's** and some few say **er schafft ans Schmidte;** in Berks the first does not occur, as far as we can tell at present, but they say **er schafft ans Schmidte, er schafft an Schmidt's,** or **er schafft beim Schmidt.**

II. In the second type of distribution the speakers of Berks Co. west of the Schuylkill River in a fairly broad strip touching Schuylkill Co. use the same term as western Lehigh Co., while the speakers of southwestern Berks use another term. Some of the "Lehigh words" are used farther west and farther south in northwestern Berks than others, but in the following examples this fact will be disregarded for the most part.

ENGLISH	SW BERKS	NW BERKS & LEHIGH
1. **The meadow**	**die Wies or Wiss**	**der Schwamm**
2. **The bundle of grain**	**die or der Garreb**	**der Scheeb**

Some people also use **Bindel,** but this not very common.

3. **Papa**	**Daadi**	**Paepp**
4. **Mama**	**Mammi**	**Maemm**
5. **The lettuce-bowl**	**die Zelaat-bowl**	**die Zelaat-schissel**
6. **I'm sorry!**	**es schbeit mich**	**es dutt mir Leed or ich bin sarri**
7. **He coughed hard**	**er hod hard ghuscht**	**er hod arrick ghuscht** **er hod wiescht ghuscht** **er hod hard ghuscht**
8. **The barn-floor**	**es Scheier-denn**	**es Dresch-denn(t)**

The old people in SW Berks still use **es Dresch-denn**; the fact that this part of the barn is no longer used for threshing is most likely the reason why **Scheier-denn** is replacing it.

9. **The floor**	**der Boddem**	**der Flaar or Flohr**

This is a very interesting case; the **younger** people of Lehigh use **der Boddem,** replacing the English word with an original German dialect word; this points to the renascence of the dialect in the last decades.

10. **I went to the village**	**ich bin noch em Schdedtel gange**	**ich bin noch em Schdedtel**

(To be continued)

In the summer of 1940 Professor Hans Kurath, Director of the staff of linguists, who have been engaged for some years upon the gigantic task of creating a Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, sent two young linguistic geographers to Pennsylvania for the purpose of carrying on their studies among the Pennsylvania Germans. Mr. Lester W. J. Seifert was stationed at Fogelsville in Lehigh County, while his associate, Mr. Carroll Reed, operated from Charming Forge in Berks County. One phase of the combined results of their investigations "Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.," we are pleased to present to our readers in today's ECK. It will be continued in the next two issues.—ED.

De naegschte Owed bin ich widder uff der Kaerrichhof. Die Wunnerfitz iss doch en schlimmi Gschicht. All die Fartschritte in der Welt kumme devun, sie hot schunt Schtreit in viel Familie gemacht, en mancher hot Ohrfeige grickt dedarrich un Feindschaft unnich die beschte Friend gemacht. Ya well, denk ich zu mir selwert, der Schwammbach hot mir yo gsaat wie mit de Dode zu schwetze, do will ich doch mol sehne was eens vun denne Weibsleit, wu do leie, zu saage hot.

"Der Sall Schlemmer ihre Graab hot nau net so iwwel ausgsehne, yuscht's hot mich gewunnert ferwas der Schteehacker "Sall" un net "Sallie" odder "Sarah" genumme hot far ihre aerschter Naame. Es hot net lang genumme far des ausfinne. Ich bin ans Graab, mei Hokes Pokes gemacht un ihre gerufe. Noh hot's awwer gerabbelt. Es hot recht gschtarmt. Un des iss was ich gheert hab:

"Was der Schinner lossch mich net mol EBISSEL ruhe? En ganser liewer langer Daag bischt am yohle. Wann net gegrische waerd 'Iss es Esse noch net faerdich? Wu's mei Hemm?', dann sin en gans hunnert annere Sache, wu du hawwe witt un kannscht net finne!"

"Nau Sallie, ich will yuscht mit dir schwetze. Sei net so beess," saag ich. Sie hot awwer widder losgezogge. "Halt's Maul! Ich schinn un blog mich vun maeryets frieh bis in die dunkel Nacht nei, die Weil dass du am Waertshaus leischt. So gschwint dass du im Haus bischt, geht's Gegreisch ab, 'Sall! Sall!' Mer kann meiner Seel ball ken Aagvoll Schlof meh griege. Neinmol aus de zehe, wann du aa heem kummscht bischt in me Daermel. Noh soll mer noch bei so 're Sau im Nescht leie. Ei, du schtinkscht wie en hunnert Schpauboxe in 're Schtillerei!"

"Nee, nau Sall—," awwer ich kann net nei kumme. "Sei mer graad ruhich! Ich hab lang genunk's Maul ghalde, nau waerd uffgschwetzt. Was hawwich en Breis gezogge in der Lodderie, wie ich dich gheiert hab! Hettscht mich yuscht gelosst wu ich waar, ich hab en guter Blatz ghatt, hett mich gut selwert ernaehre kenne. Awwer nee, du bischt gschprunge un gschprunge, bis du mich in de Glubbe ghatt hoscht. Wie glatt, wie schee un schmeechlich hoscht du schwetze kenne selli Zeit. Es waar immer 'Sallie,' net 'Sall' wie nau. 'Farwas witt dann so hard schaffe, Sallie? Ich kann dir en gut Lewe mache, un bin aa gut zu dir.' So hoscht gelockt. Ya, du bischt gut zu mir! Zehe Kinner hawwich dir uff die Welt gebrocht, un siwwe devun uff der Kaerrichhof gelegt. Net ee Wart Drosch hoscht mir gewwe.

"Du kannscht mich gut ernaehre! Huh! Ich muss alles schtrecke fars lange zu mache. 'S Esse so wohl wie die Gleeder. Ya, du bischt en scheener Saryer! Ei, der Kuh un em Gaul sei Ribbe schtehne raus as wie en Reff. Die Sei hen die helft Zeit nix zu fresse. Die Scheier iss leer un die Felder schtehne voll Bitterschtengel un anner Ungraut, die Fenseschtraehme sin mit Hecke un Darne zu, so dass mer net darrich kann. Ich kann mir gaar net eibilde, wann en Schtick Hols uff em Holsblatz waar. Wann ich Brennhols hawwe will, muss ich die Ax nemme naus in der Bungert geh en doder Ebbelbaam selwert umhacke! Ya, du bischt gut zu mir! Sell hoscht yuscht gsaat, bis du mich in die Glubbe ghatt hoscht. Die Mehlkischt iss leer un ken gottseelichi Grummbeer im Keller. Un Schmals! Wu in der liewe Welt kaemt's haer? Wie mir gschlacht hen, waare die Sei so maager, dass kens do waar far auszubrode. Mer weess schier gaar net wie's Schunkefleesch zu brode, es hot net genunk fett draa."

Ich hab widder ebbes saage wolle, awwer sie losst mich net schwetze. "Hald's Maul!" greischt sie. "Den Owed grickscht mol die Lefitte runner gelese. Du hoscht gut zu mir sei wolle! Du Faulenser! Guck mich yuscht mol aa. Fufzich Yohr zurick waar's gsaat, ich waer eens vun de schennschte Maed uff weit un breed. Wie guck ich naui Was bin ich nau? En alt zammegerunselt Weiwel, dass geht mit der Naas uff em Boddem vun nix as wie niegere far dich. Ei, ich guck schlimmer wie en verrunselter Perschingschnutz, wu schunt siwwe Yohr uff em Heiselschpeicher gelegge hot! Ei, es dutt mir leed far in en Schpiggel zu gucke. Ich hab mich als gedruwwelt, awwer nau iss mei Druwwel all zu Zarn gedreht. Vun heit ab gehscht du dei Weg un ich meiner. Loss die, wu du dei Gschpass mit hoscht, dich versarye, ich bin faerdich. Un wann du dich net graad fartmachscht, schlag ich dir's Waerkelhols uff die Haernschaal, dass - du - Was! bischt - du - net der Hen?" frogt sie. "Nee," saag ich, "ich bin net dei Mann."

"O ye! Ferwas hoscht mich net mit Friede gelosst. Ich hab so'n hesslich Lewe ghatt, nau musscht du kumme mich widder do draa gemahne. Geh! Geh! Un loss mir mei Ruh. Ich hab so gut g-sch-lof-e." Noh waar sie fart.

Ich hab die Sall gedauert. Es wunnert mich nau eb ihre Mann net meh vun ihre gedenkt hot, odder eb's em Graabschteehacker sei Schuld waar, dass ihre Naame net recht uff em Schtee waar. Ich bin heem, un uff em Weg hawwich mir vorgenumme die Gschpichte uffzugewwe. Un doch hot de naegschte Owed der Wunnerfitz widder 's bescht vun mir grickt un ich bin widder uff der Kaerrichhof.

Lloyd A. Moll's popular column "S Gebabbel im Schtor" appears thrice weekly on the editorial page of the Evening Chronicle.

Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.

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Continued from last issue

III. In the third type of geographic distribution the people of Berks and NW Lehigh use the same terms, while the people of the rest of western Lehigh use other terms. This northwestern section of Lehigh Co. lies roughly north of Seipstown, Holben's Valley, and Schweitzer Valley. But some of the "Berks words" are used farther south and farther east in Lehigh Co. than others.

ENGLISH	SW LEHIGH	BERKS & NW LEHIGH
1. **To deny**	**legle**	**ferlegle**

A few old people in SW Lehigh say **ablegle**. Only a very small tip of NW Lehigh goes with Berks in this term.

2. **Grouchy**	**griddelich**	**gredzich**

Around Womelsdorf, Berks Co., **grummelich** and **grimmelich** are used. As far south as Fogelsville, Lehigh Co., **griddelich** is used.

3. **My mother** (the formal word)	**mei Mammi** **mei Maemm** (not often)	**mei Mudder**

Mudder is still used by a few old people in Berks, but generally in Berks and NW Lehigh the distinction between a formal and an affectionate term for **mother** is fast disappearing (cf. example No. 4, Section II).

4. **Hello!**	**wie geht's, wie bischt, or haye**	**haudidu, wie gehts, or wie bischt**
5. **We walked to the barn**	**mir sin an die Scheier geloffe**	**mir sin noch der Scheier geloffe**
6. **I'm a bit tired**	**ich bin (en) wennich mied**	**ich bin (en) bissel mied**

In the southwestern part of Lehigh, north of the Lehigh Mountains, **wennich** is also used.

7. **A hill**	**en Hiwwel**	**en Barrick** or **Baerrick**

The **Hiwwel** area comes very far south in western Lehigh. In all of western Lehigh the word **Hiwwel** is, of course, known, but when the people of the southern area are asked, "What do you call a hill?", the first answer is "**en Barrick**;" in all of Lehigh, however, **Hiwwel** refers only to a very low hill. The pronunciation **Baerrick** is common in the central part of western Lehigh.

IV. Example No. 7 in Section III already shows that the people of a certain area in southwestern Lehigh Co. at times say the same things as the people in western Berks, whereas the rest of western Lehigh has other terms. This area which sometimes agrees with Berks is north of the Lehigh Mts. and includes the areas around Fogelsville, Alburtis, and Macungie. Some "Berks words" are used farther north and farther east in Lehigh than others. This will be discussed under the specific examples.

ENGLISH	BERKS & SW LEHIGH	NW LEHIGH
1. **The cradle**	**die Wieg**	**die Schockel**

The **Wieg** area goes as far north as Fogelsville and includes Macungie; how much farther east than Macungie it goes I cannot say, because we have no records east of Macungie in southern Lehigh. A good many people in NW Lehigh still know **Wieg**, although they say that this word has died out or that they have heard someone else use it.

2. **A drunkard**	**en Siffer**	**en Sauf-lodel**

Only a very small area in SW Lehigh has **Siffer**; here and there in NW Lehigh it is also used, but **Sauf-lodel** is by far the more common term.

3. **He mows the lawn**	**er meed's Graas**	**er meed der Hof**

The old people in Berks still say **Hof**. Only around Macungie was **Graas** observed.

4. **A blouse**	**en Baddi**	**en Weest**

Baddi was recorded only in Alburtis. The old people of Berks use **Weest** or **Baesk**. Some old people in Lehigh say **Saeck**.

5. **A week-day**	**en Waerdaag** or **en Schaffdaag**	**en Wochedaag** or **en Daag in der Woch**

Waerdaag is becoming rare in Lehigh, but **Schaffdaag** still occupies a very considerable area in Lehigh.

6. **The orchard**	**der Baam-gohrde** or **Bohm-gaarde**	**der Bungert** or **der Bummert**

Quite a number of NW Lehigh speakers also know the term **Baam-gohrde**, but they say that it has died out in this section.

7. **He postponed it**	**er hod's abgschowe** or **er hod's abgeduh**	**er hod's uffgschowe**

Only a small area in SW Lehigh uses **abgeduh**. But the infinitive form **uffschiewe** occurs quite frequently in Berks also.

V. Of the 22 records which Reed made during the summer one is the record of a man from Newmanstown, Lebanon Co., a short distance southwest of the Berks Co. line. In several features the speech of this man and of a varying number of southwestern Berks Co. informants differs from that of all our other informants. Examples from the vocabulary to illustrate this distinctive northeastern Lebanon and southwestern Berks usage over against northwestern Berks and western Lehigh usage are:

ENGLISH	NE LEBANON & SW BERKS	NW BERKS & LEHIGH
1. **The pail**	**der Kiwwel**	**der Eemer**

Only a very small area in SW Berks has **Kiwwel**.

2. **He is bald**	**er iss baale** or **baale-kebbich**	**er iss blott** or **blott-kebbich**

Baale and **baale-kebbich** are wide-spread in SW Berks.

3. **He is bare-headed**	**er iss blos-kebbich**	**er iss blott-kebbich**

A few old people in NW Berks & Lehigh say **blos-kebbich**.

4. **He preaches a sermon**	**er gebt die Breddich**	**er breddicht** or **er dutt die Breddich**

In NW Lehigh there is also an area in which **er gebt die Breddich** is used.

VI. The type of distribution to be discussed in this section combines the two types which have been presented in Sections I and V. As far as our present material goes, only the diminutive suffixes fall into this special class. In NE Lebanon Co. (from Frey's article we know that this feature extends much farther to the south and west, but this article is purposely limited to a discussion of the actual materials which we collected during the past summer) and in a strip of Berks Co. adjacent to the Lebanon Co. line the singular suffix is **-li**; thus the word for **the baby** in these areas is **es Bobbli**. In that part of western Berks not included in the strip along the Lebanon Co. line and in western Lehigh Co. there are 3 (or 4) singular suffixes in use: **che, el**, and the compound suffix **elche**, and in midwestern Berks **liche** occurs, but it is not very frequent; thus in these two areas **the baby** is **es Bobbel, the little pig** is **es Seiche,** and **the village** is sometimes called **es Schdedtelche.** On the seam, where the southwestern and the midwestern sections of Berks meet, there are people who use all 5 suffixes. It must be added that in the midwestern section of Berks, in Lehigh, and on the above mentioned seam it is impossible to predict which of the 4 (or 5) suffixes will be used in any given word, although there are some words which are used only with one definite suffix; the following examples will make this clear.

ENGLISH	NE LEBANON & SW BERKS	MIDWEST BERKS & LEHIGH
1. **The little pig**	**es Seili** or **Wudzli**	**es Seiche, Wudzel, Widzel, or Widzliche**
2. **The cup**	**es Kobbli**	**es Kobbche**
3. **The small book**	**es Bichli**	**es Bichel**; but most people say **es glee Buch** in these regions
4. **The little bird**	**es Feggli**	**es Feggel, Feggelche,** or **Feggliche** (one case of the last was recorded even in Lehigh Co.)
5. **The small glass**	**es Glessli**	**es Glessel**; but most people say **es glee Glass** in these regions
6. **The lamb**	**es Scheefli**	**es Scheefel; es Lamm** and **Lemmel** are quite rare. A good many people say **es glee Schof**
7. **The village**	**es Schdedtli**	**es Schdedtel; es Schdedtelche** is not very common
8. **The corn-crib**	not a diminutive in these regions, and very often not in all of western Berks	**es Welsch-karn-heisel**
9. **The baby**	**es Bobbli**	**es Bobbel; es Bobbliche** is rare. In Lehigh **es Beebi** occurs at times
10. **The foot-stool**	**es Benkli**	**es Benkel; es Benkelche** is rarely used

From these examples it is evident that the distribution of the singular suffixes is really the same as that which has been discussed in Section V. But the distribution of these suffixes in the plural does not agree entirely with that of the singular, and here is where the distribution discussed under Section I comes into the picture. In the area where **li** is the singular suffix the plural suffix is **lin (babies** are **Bobblin)**. In midwestern Berks, where **che, el, elche,** and rarely **liche** are used in the singular, the plural suffixes are **cher** and **licher (babies** are **Bobblicher, cups** are **Kobbcher)**. In the singular suffixes Lehigh by and large agrees with midwestern Berks, but not so in the plural. In the plural Lehigh also has **cher**, but of the compound suffixes, **licher** is rarely used and the usual thing is **elcher (cookies** are **Kichelcher)**. On the seam, where the southwestern and midwestern sections of Berks meet, there is again a region in which the speakers use all 3 suffixes, **lin, cher,** and **licher,** in the plural. In those regions where more than one suffix is in use it is again impossible to predict which one wil be used for any given word.

ENGLISH	NE LEBANON & SW BERKS	MIDWEST BERKS	LEHIGH
1. **Little pigs**	**Seilin** or **Wudzlin**	**Seicher, Seilicher, Wudzlicher,** or **Widzlicher**	**Seicher, Wudzelcher, Widzelcher,** or rarely **Widzlicher**
2. **Cups**	**Kobblin**	**Kobbcher** or rarely **Kobblicher**	**Kobbcher**
3. **Small books**	**Bichlin**	**Bichlicher**	**Bichelcher**
4. **Little birds**	**Fegglin**	**Fegglicher**	**Feggelcher**
5. **Small glasses**	**Glesslin**	**Glesslicher**	**Glesselcher**
6. **Lambs**	**Scheeflin** or rarely **Schoflin**	**Scheeflicher** or rarely **Lemm**	**Scheefelcher, Scheeflicher,** or **Lemmer**
7. **Villages**	**Schdedtlin**	**Schdedtlicher**	**Schdedtelcher** or **Schdedtlicher**
8. **Corn-cribs**	**Welsch-karn-heislin** (Cf. the singular)	**Welsch-karn-heislicher**	**Welsch-karn-heiselcher**
9. **Babies**	**Bobblin**	**Bobblicher**	**Bobbelcher** and **Bobblicher** occur about equally often; **Beebis** is also used at times
10. **Cookies**	**Kichlin**	**Kichlicher** or **gleene Kuche**	**Kichelcher**

In Lehigh and midwestern Berks diminutives are often avoided by using the adjective **glee, gleene Bicher, gleene Feggel, gleene Kuche.**

Concluded in next issue

ES FRIEHYOHR KUMMT

Es Friehyohr kummt, ich bin so froh,
Waer es doch yuscht heit schunn do!
Un harch mol wann der Biwwi singt,
Wie des glei noh ann're bringt!

Der Schnee der schmelst un geht eweck,
Losst zurick so bissel Dreck;
Dart sehnt mer noh die scheene Blumme
Wie sie aus em Grund raus kumme.

Do freed sich noh die gans Nadur,
Blanse, alle Kreadur;
Die Saft die schiesst in all die Baem,
Buwe bleiwe net deheem.

Es scheint die Lieb waer in der Luft,
Wie der Daa un Marye-Luft
'S iss alles haerrlich, alles froh,
Wann es Friehyohr iss mol do.

—LLOYD A. MOLL

VII. The seventh type of distribution seems to be quite rare, or at least I have so far found only two cases of it, but it is so striking that it deserves special mention. In this type the people of northeastern Lebanon and southwestern Berks agree in usage with the people of western Lehigh, while that other part of Berks which has been investigated and which lies between these other two areas uses a different term.

1. **The shovel** in the central area is called either **die Schaufel** or **die Schipp** and either one of these words can refer to any kind of a shovel. In NE Lebanon, SW Berks, and Lehigh both words also occur, but there is a difference in their meaning; **die Schaufel** is broad and blunt, such as the scoop-shovel used in handling threshed grain, but **die Schipp** is much narrower and has a pointed end and is used for such jobs as shovelling ground or gravel.

2. **A pie** in the central area is **en Pei** and in NE Lebanon, SW Berks, and Lehigh it is **en Boi**; in NW Lehigh **Pei** is heard quite frequently. Both of these words are, of course, borrowed from the English, but at different times. **Boi** is the result of an early borrowing; at that time the English of Pennsylvania evidently did not pronounce the word the way it is now pronounced; the diphthong in which the word ends cannot have been exactly like either the Pennsylvania German diphthong **ei** (as in **die Scheier, the barn**) or the Pennsylvania German diphthong **oi** (as in **Moi,** the month of **May**) but must have been somewhere between the two; the early Pennsylvania Germans settled upon the pronunciation **Boi** rather than **Pei,** because in the native German words of the Pennsylvania German dialect there were no words of one syllable ending in the diphthong **ei**, but there were a few words of one syllable ending in the diphthong **oi** (thus **Moi, May; Hoi, hay**; and **Oi, an egg**). Then the English pronunciation of the word **pie** gradually changed so that in time it ended in a diphthong which was almost exactly like the Pennsylvania German diphthong **ei**; since the Pennsylvania Germans must have heard the word **pie** very often from English speaking people, it is but natural that they should have borrowed the word anew, but now they also borrowed it in the English pronunciation, for the final diphthong was no longer different from a native Pennsylvania German diphthong.

VIII. It can be shown that the types of distribution which have been discussed so far are largely the result of the settlement history of the areas investigated. The seventh type of distribution is not so much due to the settlement history as to the effects of a cultural center. Womelsdorf in southwestern Berks Co. was a part of the old Tulpehocken Settlement which was founded in 1723 by Palatines and Wuerttembergers who had in 1709 come to Schoharie, New York. When they were unfairly treated in the latter place, they moved on to Pennsylvania; the famous Weiser family established itself on the outskirts of Womelsdorf in 1729. Thus Womelsdorf is one of the oldest settlements in this part of Pennsylvania and it early became the center for the surrounding country-side, a position which it has maintained to this day. From such a cultural center features of language as well as manners and customs spread out in all directions. The following examples will show that Womelsdorf is no exception to this rule. Some of the terms have spread farther out of Womelsdorf than others, but without using maps it is difficult to show the exact spread of each term; therefore I shall speak of a general Womelsdorf area.

1. **A sparrow** within the Womelsdorf area is **en Schbaerre**; the rest of Berks has **en Schbarling** or **en Schbadz**; Lehigh has only **en Schbadz.**

2. **The first crop of hay** in the Womelsdorf area is **die** or **der arscht Grapp Hoi**; in the rest of Berks and Lehigh it is simply called **es Hoi.**

3. **The second crop of hay** is **die** or **der zwett Grapp Hoi** in the Womelsdorf area; in the rest of Berks and Lehigh it is called **es Uhmed.** It is quite natural that such farm terms are lost in the towns, but in these last two cases the new town terms have spread into the country.

4. The month of **August** in the Womelsdorf area is **der Auguscht** or **der Aaguscht,** while the rest of Berks has **der Augscht** or **der Aagscht.** In this case Lehigh agrees with the Womelsdorf area.

5. **The doorknob** in the Womelsdorf area is **der Dier-gnopp**; in the rest of Berks and Lehigh it is **der Diere-gnopp.**

6. **Spring-water** in the Womelsdorf area is **Schbring-wasser**; the rest of Berks has **Schbringewasser**; in Lehigh both forms occur, but not in any clear geographic distribution.

7. **He works at Schmidt's** in the Womelsdorf area is **er schafft beim Schmidt.** For the rest cf. example No. 16, Section I.

8. **Some people farm** in the Womelsdorf area is **Deel Leit schaffe uff der Bauerei**; in the rest of Berks people say **Deel Leit bauere**; in Lehigh both expressions are used, not in geographic distribution, and the two sets of pronunciation **Bauerei, bauere** and **Bawwerei, bawwere** occur.

9. **I have a cold** in the Womelsdorf area is **ich hab en Kalt**; NW Lehigh also has this; the rest of Berks has **ich hab's Kalt,** while the rest of Lehigh has **ich hab Kalt.**

10. **They razzed him** in the Womelsdorf area is **sie hen ihn geredzt**; for the rest of the picture cf. example No. 15, Section I.

11. **It rained on the wedding-day** is **es hod uff em Hochzich-daag gereyyert** in the Womelsdorf area, but in the rest of Berks it is **uff der Hochzichdaag.** Lehigh has both constructions, but not in any clear geographic distribution.

12. **I helped myself** (to meat) is **ich hab mir selwert gholfe** in the Womelsdorf area; in the rest of Berks the people say **ich hab mir gholfe**; both idioms occur in Lehigh and also a third, **ich hab mir genumme,** but there is no clear geographic distribution.

13. **Grouchy** in the Womelsdorf area is **grummelich** or **grimmelich**; the rest of Berks and NW Lehigh have **griddelich**; SW Lehigh has **gredzich.** This word was also used as an example in Section III.

Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.

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(Conclusion)

IX. Western Lehigh Co. has never had any center of the same degree of importance for the surrounding country as Womelsdorf was for southwestern Berks Co. In Section VIII it has been shown that, when there are differences in the dialect of Berks Co. as a whole, one of the forms can often be found in the Womelsdorf area, while the rest of Berks uses another form. In Lehigh, however, it is impossible to speak of a "Fogelsville area," or a "Macungie area," or a "New Tripoli area," because words and forms have not radiated from these points out into the surrounding country. To be sure, there are also terms in Lehigh which show geographic distribution, but this distribution does not show the regular pattern found in Berks. Lehigh is therefore much more split up than Berks and the dialect of the former has not yet reached the same degree of homogeneity as the dialect of the latter. In Sections III and IV examples have already been given to show how NW Lehigh on the one hand and SW Lehigh on the other (in both cases agreeing with Berks) differ from the rest of western Lehigh. The following examples show even more clearly, how western Lehigh is split up.

1. **The wash-boiler** north and west of Weidasville, Lyon Valley, and Hynemansville, and also in a small area north of the Lehigh Mts. is **der Wesch-boiler**; the people in the wedge between these two areas say **der Wesch-kessel.** In Berks **der Wesch-boiler** is not very frequent and it is usually **der Wesch-beiler.** a form which the Lehigh people say has died out. Could it be that **der Wesch-kessel** is spreading from Allentown, a place from which we have no records?

2. **A stone-house** in the area north of Fogelsville up to Weidasville, northwest to New Tripoli and back again to Fogelsville is **es Schdeene-haus,** and also in a considerable area north of the Lehigh Mts.; round about these areas it is called **en Schdee-haus** (I do not indicate the nasal vowel, because in many speakers the nasal quality is lost). In Berks it is most commonly called **en Schdeenich-haus,** although **en Schdee-haus** also occurs.

3. **A brick-house** in the area north and west of the Clausville-Seipstown line up to Stine's Corner and New Tripoli and also in a very small area north of the Lehigh Mts. next to Berks Co. is **en Backe-schdeene-haus;** hence this area is much smaller than the area in which **Schdeene-haus** is used. In a narrow strip stretching from Schweitzer Valley to New Tripoli it is called **en Backe-schdeehaus.** The rest of the investigated area in Lehigh has **en Backe-schdeenich-haus,** which is by far the most common term in Berks, although **en Backeschdee-haus** does occur now and then. After more of the entire Pennsylvania German area has been investigated, the distribution of the forms for these last two examples should make a very interesting study.

4. **A highway** north and west of Weidasville, Lyon Valley, and Hynemansville is **en Peik,** and also in a small area north of the Lehigh Mts. In the wedge between these two areas it is called **die grossi Schdross** or simply **die Schdross,** though **Peik** is not entirely unknown in this region. In Berks these same words are used, but they are not in geographic distribution. In addition **der Schdeet-weeg, der Hei-wee,** and **der Hei-weg** occur in both Berks and Lehigh.

5. **My father** (the formal term) north and east of the line from Claussville to Hillside is **mei Paepp.** In the rest of western Lehigh it is **mei Fadder.** In Berks only the old people still say **mei Fadder** and the usual thing is **mei Daadi.** Thus in the **Paepp** area of Lehigh and in Berks the distinction between a formal and an affectionate term is disappearing (cf. example No. 3, Section II). In Lehigh **Daadi** usually refers to any old man, except in the compound **Schwaer-daadi** (father-in-law).

6. **My mother** (the formal word) is **mei Maemm** in an area which largely coincides with the **Paepp** area. The rest of Western Lehigh has **mei Mudder.** In Berks **mei Mammi** is generally used, though **mei Maemm** is also quite frequent; **mei Mudder** is dying out rapidly in Berks, but it is relatively more alive than **mei Fadder.** As in the words for **father,** the distinction between a formal and an affectionate term is dying out. **Mammi** in Lehigh usually refers to any old woman. Cf. example No. 4, Section II and example No. 3, Section III.

7. **Stubborn** in a considerable area of NW Lehigh is **dick-kebbich;** the rest of western Lehigh has **schdarr-kebbich.** The latter word and **schdowwerich** are used in Berks.

So far the examples in this section have shown how western Lehigh is split into a northwestern, a southwestern, and a central-western area. But there are other examples which show how western Lehigh is split into a far-western section (a strip of varying width along the Berks Co. line) and a midwestern section.

8. **Supper** in Berks and in a narrow strip of Lehigh along the county line is **es Nacht-esse;** in the midwestern section of Lehigh it is **Subber.**

9. **We go to work** in Berks and in the far-western section of Lehigh is **mir gehn an die Arwet;** in the midwestern section the people say **mir gehne schaffe,** but here and there in this section people say **mir gehn noch der Arwet.**

10. **He lives on the highway** in a very broad far-western section is **er wuhnt am Peik** (or any of the possibilities according to example No. 4 of this section). In Berks this occurs here and there, but the regular thing in Berks and in the midwestern section of Lehigh is **er wuhnt uffem Peik.**

11. **To cultivate corn** in a fairly broad far-western section is **es Welsch-karn schaufle;** in the midwestern section it is **es Welsch-karn koldiweedere** or **koldiweede.** In Berks both these idioms are used, as well as **es Welsch-karn schaffe.**

The examples given in this article show the main types of geographic distribution in the vocabulary. I have tried to show how far the currency of any given term extends within the limits of the two areas investigated, but since I have not used maps, I have been forced to be somewhat general at times. There are other differences in vocabulary which do not show any clear geographic distribution and therefore they have not been mentioned in this article.

The number of differences which have been listed is not great enough to make the speakers of one district unintelligible to the speakers of the other district, but the material presented here shows that a stage of homogeneity over the entire Pennsylvania German area has not been reached by the dialect. In addition there are also differences in pronunciation and in grammatical forms which have not been used in this article, but they roughly fall into the same patterns as those outlined for the differences in vocabulary.

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